

is equal to what Senator LUGAR controls on his side. If there is any difference in the numbers, he and Senator DODD can adjust it accordingly.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### NOMINATION OF JOHN ROBERT BOLTON TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume executive session for the consideration of Calendar No. 103, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John Robert Bolton, of Maryland, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the time until 6 p.m. will be equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which 1 hour will be reserved under the control of the Senator from Ohio, Mr. VOINOVICH, and with the exceptions just noted by consent.

The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I will yield shortly to distinguished colleagues who have sought an opportunity to speak for the first time on the nomination of John Bolton. I had the privilege of addressing the Senate yesterday for over 50 minutes in which I attempted to outline all of the best reasons for John Bolton's confirmation, which I hope will occur today. I believe he will be an outstanding representative of our country, a very able diplomat to the United Nations.

During the course of my comments—now reflected, because they were delivered yesterday, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today—we attempted to go through each of the case histories of interviews completed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in response to the questions or allegations made about the nominee. Affirmatively, I have tried to point out the tens of very able Americans who have endorsed John Bolton, including a large number of former Secretaries of State, Defense, National Security Directors, and, most importantly, people who have worked with him at the United Nations, at USAID.

I ask Members to reference the specifics of my speech yesterday, if there are questions with regard to the work done by the able staff on both sides of the Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee, to make certain that each of the arguments that has been presented has been met and fairly argued.

During the entirety of the debate yesterday, the arguments that were made were not new ones. They may be important ones, and perhaps they will be reargued today. But I ask Members to think constructively now about the President of the United States, his desire for reform of the United Nations, and his desire to have John Bolton there at the United Nations to work in that capacity for reform of an institution that the United States wishes to see much stronger, more able, and certainly a valuable part of American diplomacy and national security policy.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I listen to my distinguished chairman, and I wonder who he is actually talking about when he says there is so much support for John Bolton. There has been an unprecedented outcry of Republicans and Democrats against this nomination.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the votes on U.S. ambassadors at the United Nations since 1945.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### VOTES ON U.S. AMBASSADORS TO THE UN

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (1945–1946): Voice Vote

Warren R. Austin (1947–1953): Unanimous Consent

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1953–1960): Unanimous Consent

James J. Wadsworth (1960–1961): Unanimous Consent

Adlai E. Stevenson (1961–1965): Unanimous Consent

Arthur J. Goldberg (1965–1968): Unanimous Consent

George W. Ball (1968–1968): Unanimous Consent

James Russell Wiggins (1968–1969): Unanimous Consent

Charles W. Yost (1969–1971): Unanimous Consent

George Bush (1971–1973): Unanimous Consent

John A. Scali (1973–1975): Unanimous Consent

Daniel P. Moynihan (1975–1976): Unanimous Consent

William W. Scranton (1976–1977): Unanimous Consent

Andrew J. Young (1977–1979) 89–3 :

Donald F. McHenry (1979–1981) 83–0 :

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (1981–1985) 81–0 :

Vernon A. Walters (1985–1989): Voice Vote

Thomas R. Pickering (1989–1992) 99–0 :

Edward Joseph Perkins (1992–1993): Unanimous Consent

Madeleine K. Albright (1993–1997): Unanimous Consent

Bill Richardson 100–0 (1997–1998):

Richard Holbrooke (1999–2001) 81–16 :

John D. Negroponte (2001–2004): Voice Vote

John C. Danforth (2004–2005): Voice Vote

Mrs. BOXER. What this will show for the record is that starting in 1945, we have had voice votes and unanimous consent votes on almost all of these nominees. There were few exceptions. Andrew Young got the post 89 to 2;

Donald McHenry, 83 to nothing—they had votes—Jeane Kirkpatrick, 81 to nothing. The largest “no” vote was Richard Holbrooke, who had 16 against him. Bill Richardson was 100 to nothing; John Negroponte, voice vote; Danforth, voice vote.

I am putting this in the RECORD because when you listen to my friends who are supporting John Bolton, you would think that this is just a run-of-the-mill type appointment, that it is usual to have this kind of firestorm. Nothing could be further from the truth. This nomination is a diversion from the consensus candidates that we have had in the past. Since my chairman talked about all the support John Bolton has, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD in a letter dated May 9, 2005.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Updated May 9, 2005.*

Hon. RICHARD G. LUGAR,  
*Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.*

Hon. JOSEPH R. BIDEN,  
*Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.*

DEAR SENATOR LUGAR AND SENATOR BIDEN: We have noted with appreciation the moves of President Bush at the beginning of his second term to improve U.S. relations with the countries of the European Union and of the United Nations. Maintaining these ties and the willingness of those countries to cooperate with the United States is essential to U.S. security.

It is for this reason that we write you to express our concern over the nomination of John R. Bolton to be permanent representative of the United States at the United Nations. We urge you to reject that nomination.

By virtue of service in the State Department, USAID and Justice Departments, John Bolton has the professional background needed for this position. But his past activities and statements indicate conclusively that he is the wrong man for this position at a time when the U.N. is entering a critically important phase of modernization, seeking to promote economic development and democratic reforms and searching for ways to cope better with proliferation crises and a spurt of natural disasters and internal conflicts.

John Bolton has an exceptional record of opposition to efforts to enhance U.S. security through arms control. He led a campaign against ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Today, the administration is pressing for development of new types of nuclear weapons. John Bolton blocked more extensive international agreement to limit sales of small arms, the main killer in internal wars. He led the fight to continue U.S. refusal to participate in the Ottawa Landmine Treaty. Today, the U.S. has joined Russia and China in insisting on the right to continue to deploy antipersonnel landmines. John Bolton crafted the U.S. withdrawal from the joint efforts of 40 countries to formulate a verification system for the Biological Weapons Convention and blocked continuation of these efforts in a period of increasing concern over potential terrorist use of these weapons and of terrorist access to the stocks of countries covertly producing these weapons. John Bolton's unsubstantiated claims that Cuba and Syria